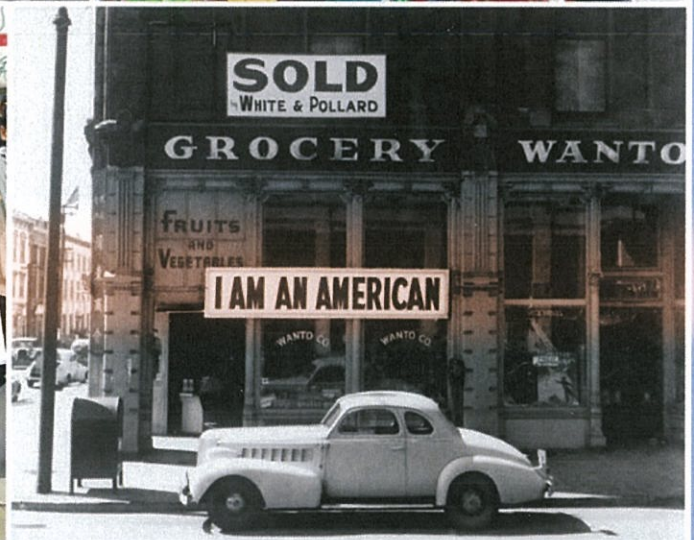


Immigration and the U.S. Policy Debate



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Introduction: A Country of Immigrants

Today, debates about immigration and immigration policy dominate social media and political debates. Indeed, many people in the United States consider immigration policy a critical factor in deciding the future of the country.

To say that the United States is a country of immigrants is more than an acknowledgment of history. It is also how many U.S. citizens think about their country: a refuge and a place of opportunity for all.

“I have always believed that there was some divine plan that placed this great continent between two oceans to be sought out by those who were possessed of an abiding love of freedom and a special kind of courage.”

—Ronald Reagan, January 25, 1974

But a careful look at the history of U.S. immigration shows that immigrants have not always been welcomed with open arms. The questions that come up in debates about immigration are complex. Certain themes have arisen repeatedly in the past and continue to the present day. For example, today, some U.S. citizens worry about immigrants taking their jobs for lower wages or about impoverished immigrants arriving and needing financial assistance. But these concerns actually date back to the nineteenth century. Deeply rooted racism and xenophobia (suspicion of foreign cultures, religions, and ethnicities) have always been influential in shaping the country's trajectory, attitudes towards immigrants, and government immigration policy.

In this way, studying the history of immigration is one way to begin to explore the complex story of the United States—a story that began well before the arrival of the first colonists.

Immigration by European colonists in the seventeenth century displaced and disrupted

native civilizations. Some native people arrived in North America as early as 10,000 BCE. For thousands of years, civilizations prospered and fell as they did in other parts of the world. European colonists were merely the latest newcomers in a long history of migration and change.

Soon, Western European immigrants populated the area with colonies. Throughout this process, Europeans and their descendants exploited and discriminated against the native people they encountered. They also enslaved Africans and forced them to come to North America. The historical interactions between native peoples, Europeans, Africans, South Americans, Central Americans, Asians, and others have shaped the present-day United States.

Since the U.S. government began counting in 1820, more than seventy-four million immigrants have come to the United States. As of 2015, the United States had a larger number of immigrants living within its borders than any other country in the world—about 46.6 million immigrants. But according to total population size, as of 2015, immigrants made up only about 14.5 percent of the U.S. population—a much lower percentage than in other countries such as the United Arab Emirates (88.4 percent), Kuwait (73.6 percent), Singapore (45.4 percent), Australia (28.2 percent), and Canada (21.8 percent), to name a few.

With the U.S. population greater than 323 million, and economic uncertainty and security concerns weighing on the minds of many, some contend that the United States does not have room for more immigrants. Many argue that foreign cultures and religions threaten the cultural and political traditions of the United States. At the same time, others believe that the United States cannot afford to close the door to the skills and experiences that newcomers bring. Some people also think that admitting immigrants who wish to reunite their families already in the United States should be a priority. Many people acknowl-

edge the cultural and social benefits of inviting more immigrants into the country. Others believe that the United States has a humanitarian obligation to keep its doors open to refugees fleeing conflict or persecution—especially conflicts in which the United States has played a role.

In the coming days, you will explore the issues surrounding immigration policy and offer your own recommendations about the course the United States should take. In Part I of the reading, you will explore the history of early immigration to the United States and the experiences of immigrants from the country's beginning to the mid-twentieth century. In Part II, you will examine U.S. immigration policies and immigrant experiences from the 1920s through the 1990s. In Part III, you will read about twenty-first century U.S. immigration,

leading into a discussion about the future of U.S. immigration policy. Ultimately, you will consider the same questions that U.S. policy makers confront:

- How should the United States respond to immigration?
- Should immigration be open for all ethnic, racial, and religious groups?
- How does immigration affect the economy?
- What responsibility does the United States have to citizens of other countries?
- How should the United States balance its stance on immigration with its approach to national security?

Part I: Immigration and the U.S. Experience

With the exception of native peoples, all people in the United States trace their roots to immigrants. Many of the early immigrants came as colonists from Europe. They came seeking freedom, land, and economic opportunity. Colonial leaders and leaders of the new country sometimes expressed the idea that the country was, and had always been, a country of immigrants.

“The bosom of America is open to receive not only the opulent and respectable stranger but the oppressed and persecuted of all nations and religions; whom we shall welcome to a participation of all our rights and privileges, if by decency and propriety of conduct they appear to merit the enjoyment.”

—President George Washington,
December 2, 1783

The idea expressed by George Washington of an open, tolerant, and welcoming society is familiar to us. But it does not completely reflect the experiences that many people in the United States have had historically as well as in the present. In fact, discrimination, exclusion, and exploitation of groups of people—including immigrant groups, native people, and African Americans—are also an important part of the history of U.S. immigration.

The Colonial Era and Independence

Since the colonial era, Americans have tried to control who could live in the United States and who should enjoy the rights and privileges of citizenship. Economic, political, cultural, and security concerns contributed to the desire to control immigration. These concerns shaped decisions about which racial, ethnic, and religious groups would be considered desirable immigrants and be allowed to live as full members of society.

Part I Definitions

Assimilation—The process of being absorbed and integrated into a society and culture. In some cases, assimilation is voluntary, and in other cases, it is forced.

Colonialism—The acquisition and exploitation of territory by a foreign power for its own economic and political benefit.

Immigrant—A person who was not a citizen of his or her country of residence at the time of his or her birth.

Migration—The movement of people to a new place.

Naturalization—The process of a foreign-born person becoming a citizen of another country.

For example, Britain's colonies in North America limited who was allowed to immigrate there for a range of reasons. Britain's colonies were surrounded by those of their imperial rivals: Spain and France. Spain and France were both Catholic countries—and fierce rivals of Protestant Britain. This imperial conflict and British concerns about the security of its colonies directly influenced immigration policy. In 1740, Britain's naturalization act excluded Catholics living in the colonies. Other colonies taxed Catholic immigrants or banned them entirely. Some colonies also taxed all immigrants from countries other than Britain.

While the colonies offered an escape from religious persecution and economic uncertainty for some European immigrants, colonial officials had no intention of granting the rights and protections of citizenship to all people.

How did race affect colonial attitudes about who could become part of society?

Race was an important criterion for colonists deciding who to include in their new society. The first colonists in British North America came from England. Between 1630

and 1700, about 155,000 English immigrants arrived, making up around 90 percent of all immigrants from this time period. Although many had left England with the aim of creating a new society, they brought with them English ideas of how society should be organized. They made sure that whites, blacks, native people, and women each had different and unequal statuses.

In the eighteenth century, more immigrants arrived. For example, from 1713-1765, about 350,000 people—including English, Irish, German, Dutch, and Scottish immigrants, as well as African forced migrants, or enslaved people—arrived. White Europeans used race to determine people's status in society.

White people were free. But many whites worked under contracts called indentures that required them to labor for others for a fixed number of years. Some agreed to be indentured servants to repay the debt from their passage to North America. Others were forced into indentures when they were convicted of a crime, orphaned, widowed, or were otherwise unable to support themselves. Indentured servants often worked as hard as enslaved people, but they had documents that defined the length and terms of their service.

European colonists falsely believed that native peoples were uncivilized, inferior, and had no legal claim to the land. Over time, colonists pushed native peoples from their land through violence and conquest. This trend would continue in the future. Diseases brought by colonists also devastated native populations. Historians believe that between 60 and 90 percent of the six million native inhabitants died from diseases brought by Europeans.

“We are often inclined to believe there is no resting place for us and that your intentions were to deprive us entirely of our whole country.”

—Shawnee leaders to Virginian delegates,
1775

English colonists faced significant labor shortages when they arrived in North America.

To solve this problem, they captured and enslaved native peoples. Colonists also began importing enslaved Africans in 1619. This forced migration and forced labor created the foundation for racial inequalities that endure today.

While some people of African descent were free or indentured servants, the majority were enslaved. White people forced enslaved Africans to serve them for life. Race and enslavement began to be connected as more enslaved Africans arrived in North America. While white colonists accepted that white servants could eventually become part of the broader community, they usually thought of enslaved people as outsiders who could not assimilate or become fully participating members of society.

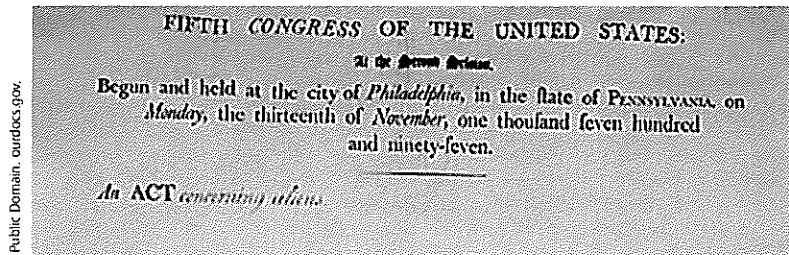
“But we were unjustly dragged by the cruel hand of power from our dearest fri[e]nds and sum of us stolen from the bosoms of our tender Parents... and Brought hither to be made slaves for Life.”

—Excerpt from “Petition of a Great Number of Blackes to Thomas Gage,” May 25, 1774

Attitudes about race, religion, and ethnicity shaped colonial beliefs about immigration and citizenship. These beliefs persisted with the arrival of new groups of immigrants in the decades and centuries to come.

How did the debate about immigration influence the colonial struggle for independence?

As the colonies grew, colonial leaders wanted to control immigration and naturalization in order to populate the colonies as they chose. They hoped to use immigration as a political and economic tool to meet the colonies' needs rather than the needs of Britain. Colonial leaders saw control over immigration and naturalization as essential to the future of the United States. The authors of the Declaration of Independence criticized King George III for his efforts to control immigration.



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influx, whenever it is found likely to prove hurtful to us."

—Tench Coxe, at the Society for Political Enquiries at Benjamin Franklin's house, April 20, 1787

In 1798, the United States passed a series of laws known as the Alien and Sedition Acts.

“[King George III] has endeavoured to prevent the Population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.”

—Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776

The elite men who authored the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution traced their roots primarily to the British Isles and nearby areas of northwestern Europe. As the United States began to take shape, these powerful, white men had the tools to make most of the political decisions that influenced U.S. immigration.

How did the Naturalization Act of 1790 limit who could become a U.S. citizen?

The men who helped create the government of the United States welcomed the prospect of continued immigration in order to strengthen the new country. But, they also sought to limit who could enter and who could become citizens.

“How far emigration from other countries into this, ought to be encouraged, is a very important question. It is clear, that the present situation of America, renders it necessary to promote the influx of people; and it is equally clear, that we have a right to restrain that

The Naturalization Act of 1790 limited citizenship to free white people of “good moral character.”

This excluded many people already living in the United States, such as enslaved Africans, free blacks, native peoples, Asians, and indentured servants from Europe. In addition, fueled by xenophobia, the government passed a series of laws in 1798—the Alien and Sedition Acts. These laws made it easier for the government to deport immigrants and made it more difficult for immigrants to vote.

It was not until the ratification of the Fourteenth Amendment in 1868 that citizenship was clearly granted to anyone born in the United States, including African Americans. Even still, native people were not granted full citizenship until 1924.

Immigration Transforms the United States

The United States expanded in size and wealth throughout the 1800s. By 1848—after a war with Mexico, violent campaigns to seize native lands and resources, and the Louisiana Purchase of the land west of the Mississippi River—the country stretched across the continent.

Why did immigrants come to the United States?

The United States proved to be a magnet for immigrants at this time. Initially, European nations were reluctant to lose members of their population to the United States. Even so, a slow but steady trickle of Irish, British, French, and German immigrants increased the U.S. population.

6 Immigration and the U.S. Policy Debate Part I

Events in the United States and in Europe led to a boom in migration beginning in the 1830s. In much of Europe, the forces of the Industrial Revolution, shifts in agriculture, and soaring populations left millions unable to make a living. This prompted many to look for opportunities in the United States. While some of these immigrants came from the United Kingdom (13.8 percent), most came from other places. During the 1830s, 31.7 percent of new immigrants came from Ireland and 23.2 percent came from Germany.

Ireland continued to be a major source of new immigrants for a number of reasons. In the late 1840s, a plant disease wiped out much of northwestern Europe's potato crop. Ireland was hit particularly hard. One million people of the country's population of 8.4 million died from starvation or disease. Between one and two million Irish people migrated as a result of the famine or to find better political conditions. At the same time, a similar desire for

greater economic opportunity from East Asians and Latin Americans—often combined with a wish to escape repressive political circumstances—created the conditions for a surge in U.S. immigration.

Booming factories and abundant farmland seemed capable of absorbing an endless stream of immigrants. U.S. railroad companies recruited East Asian and European workers to build railroad lines, fueling economic growth and the need for more factory workers. The discovery of gold in California in 1849 spurred movement westward, creating an even greater need for workers in the factories and cities of the East Coast.

Many new immigrants worked as agricultural laborers, while others settled in cities and worked as servants or in factories. Others began to settle and look for employment in the West. East Asian immigrants often arrived on the West Coast, while many European immigrants traveled from the East Coast to



Anti-Catholic attitudes greatly influenced the United States in the nineteenth century. This anti-Catholic cartoon from 1894 shows Archbishop Francesco Satolli casting a shadow over the United States.

the Midwest and West. Out west, immigrants found work in the growing mining industry or in agriculture—industries that both relied upon the seizure of native lands and inexpensive immigrant labor.

Why did some oppose Catholic immigration?

As immigrants poured into the United States, many U.S. citizens worried about the new arrivals, especially about those who were Roman Catholic. The first organized opposition to immigration from U.S. citizens emerged in the 1840s. Anti-immigrant activists created the American Party—better known as the Know-Nothing Party because of its members' secretiveness. By the 1850s, the party had nearly one million members. They claimed that Irish and German immigrants—most of whom were Catholics—threatened democracy because they were loyal to the pope, not the United States.

“The Roman Catholic Church claims infallibility for itself, and denies Spiritual Freedom, Liberty of Mind or Conscience to its members. It is therefore the foe to all progress; it is deadly hostile to Democracy. She is the natural ally of tyrants, and the irreconcilable enemy of Freedom.”

—Theodore Parker, “A sermon of the dangers which threaten the rights of man in America,” July 2, 1854

The Know-Nothings espoused hateful, anti-Catholic beliefs and used violence to terrorize Catholics. The Know-Nothings became less influential before the Civil War, but anti-immigrant feelings that were closely tied to religious and ethnic intolerance remained strong.

How did race influence ideas about immigration?

Throughout U.S. history, immigrants have come from diverse backgrounds and have been defined along racial lines. Like African Americans at the time, many immigrants who arrived during the Civil War or Reconstruc-

tion experienced racism and exclusion. In fact, some abolitionists drew attention to the poor treatment of immigrant groups while arguing for an end to slavery. Immigrants were often labeled “black” or “white” as a means of discrimination.

More than skin color, these labels were based on region of origin. Those from Scandinavia and the British Isles—excluding Ireland—were considered white. People from Spain, Italy, Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Asia, and Africa were not considered white. They were thought of as inferior. Members of non-Protestant religious groups were also considered “non-white” at various points in U.S. history.

Why was there opposition to immigration on the West Coast?

From the mid-to-late nineteenth century, immigration on the West Coast boomed. Large numbers of East Asian immigrants arrived, mainly in California. In addition, East Asians also began to arrive in Hawaii in large numbers to work on plantations.

The journey for many East Asian immigrants was difficult. The conditions on the ships in which they traveled were often harsh, and the trip was long.

Nevertheless, between 1861 and 1880, almost two hundred thousand Chinese immigrants came to the United States, mostly recruited for construction crews for the transcontinental railroad. They soon found other kinds of work as well. By the 1870s, Chinese immigrants made up 20 to 30 percent of California's labor force. Japanese immigrants began arriving during this same period because, for the first time in three hundred years, their government allowed them to emigrate. Many left Japan seeking economic opportunity.

As East Asian immigration rose, opposition to it also surged. The opposition was rooted in economic tensions and racist beliefs. This opposition created the foundation for policy shifts later on meant to severely limit Chinese and Japanese immigration.

“John Chinaman is the dirtiest neighbor anyone can have.”

—George B. Morris, in *The Chinaman As He Is*, an anti-Chinese book written in 1868

Because these new immigrants were often willing to work for low pay, they were seen as creating unwanted job competition that kept wages low. As a result, some people lobbied for laws to restrict them. State laws barred Asian immigrants from marrying or testifying in court against whites. Riots in a number of western towns resulted in the deaths of dozens of Chinese newcomers and the injuries and intimidation of many others.

Like the Chinese, the Japanese also faced prejudice, violence, and racist policies. For example, the city of San Francisco created segregated schools, forcing Japanese—as well as Chinese children—to attend schools separate from other children.

While various groups of immigrants experienced immigration differently, racism, religious intolerance, and hatred played major

roles in shaping the experiences of many nineteenth century immigrants.

Why did the demand for immigrants increase after the Civil War?

After the Civil War and abolition toppled the slave economy, the demand for immigrant labor in the United States increased once more in the second half of the nineteenth century.

“We need labor. The modern...cry is, ‘Come and help us.’ Every honest, industrious man who comes to the country, whether poor or rich, is an addition to its strength and wealth.... [T]he marvellous exodus from Europe, which has brought with it, not only the wealth, and skill, and labor which we want, but also a vast amount of impotent and thriftless poverty we do not want.”

—New York Association for Improving the Conditions of the Poor, 1860



Public Domain. Hawaii State Archives.

A Chinese immigrant family in their home in Honolulu, Hawaii in 1893. East Asians played a major role in developing the Hawaiian economy at this time, but they often faced harsh work conditions and racism.



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Little Italy, an ethnic enclave on Mulberry Street in New York City in 1905. Many Italian immigrants and people of Italian descent lived and worked there.

The Second Wave of Immigration: 1881-1920

In addition to the influx of East Asian immigrants to the West Coast, the industrial cities of the Northeast and the Great Lakes regions also needed cheap, unskilled labor. Southern and Eastern European immigration increased in response. From 1881 to 1920, about twenty-seven million immigrants came to the United States. The majority of newcomers to the eastern United States came from southern and eastern Europe—especially from Austria-Hungary, Italy, and Russia.

Most of these immigrants arrived by steamship, traveling for days or weeks. Wealthy immigrants traveled in comfortable conditions, but most immigrants spent their time in crowded areas of the ship.

“We saw some people who traveled maybe in first or second class and we looked upon them as royalty, but we were confined primarily to steerage. Steerage was one huge place. It was the lowest deck. The stench, it was the summer, in August. The humidity, the heat...it was very hot, compounded by the fact that there must have been anywhere from two to three hundred people in that huge cavernous area. The body smells, the body odors, the lack of sanitation, the lack of any kind of facilities, washing.... The stench, the vermin. It was rat infested.”

—Morris Abraham Schneider, a Polish immigrant who came to the United States in 1910

Although some had arrived in the United States earlier, the first major wave of immigrants from Latin America also arrived from the mid-to-late nineteenth century. About one hundred thousand Mexicans had migrated to the United States by 1900. Many worked in the mining industry or in agriculture. Later in the century, as many African Americans moved north, a large number of Mexican immigrants settled in the South. In addition, the U.S. victory in the Spanish-American War in 1898 resulted in the U.S. acquisition of Puerto Rico, Guam, much of Mexico's former territory, and the purchase of the Philippines, which also shaped immigration trends. For example, seeking work, many Puerto Ricans set off for the United States.

How did immigrant groups adjust to life in the United States?

The immigrant groups that arrived in large numbers at this time differed linguistically and culturally from immigrants from the British Isles.

“I turned seven after we got here, and here children were starting at the age of five in kindergarten, so...they put me in the first grade, which was kind of dumb because I didn't know the language.... I just sat there and every time the teacher even looked at me, I would start to cry because I... didn't know what she was saying.”

—Brigitta Hedman Fichter, a Swedish immigrant who came to the United States in the 1920s, reflecting on her experiences

Immigrants from this new wave often lived and worked in ethnic enclaves—close-knit communities within major cities of people from the same ethnic background seeking economic opportunities. Enclaves of Italians, Poles, Jews, Chinese, Greeks, and other ethnic groups peppered U.S. urban centers. Immigrants lived in ethnic enclaves for a number of reasons. Enclaves formed around areas where housing was available to immigrants, but also because of proximity to work, stores with familiar goods, and churches. Immigrants



A group of schoolchildren in Gary, Indiana, in the late nineteenth century. Some of the children are immigrants, and others were born in the United States. The immigrants in this photo came to the United States from many places including Greece, Poland, Italy, Russia, Ireland, and Spain.

Public Domain. The New York Public Library. Image ID 107663.

also formed enclaves in response to the racial, ethnic, or religious exclusion they faced.

How did anti-immigration demands shape U.S. immigration policy in the nineteenth century?

Anti-immigration demands in the late nineteenth century directly influenced U.S. policy. For example, in response to rising anti-Chinese sentiment, Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act in 1882. It prohibited Chinese workers from entering the United States and barred those already here from returning should they leave the country. Further laws led to a complete suspension of Chinese immigration and prohibited those already in the country from sending for their family. The Chinese Exclusion Act set the stage for later efforts to establish immigration restrictions on the basis of nationality and race.

“The word liberty makes me think of the fact that this country is the land of liberty for men of all nations except the Chinese.”

—Saum Song Bo, a Chinese immigrant, in response to the Chinese Exclusion Act and the building of the Statue of Liberty, 1885

In comparison to the policies that it enacted against Chinese immigration, the U.S. government's restrictions on Japanese immigration were less severe. For security reasons, the U.S. government hoped to maintain diplomatic ties with Japan—a more powerful country than China at the time. Yet Japanese immigrants continued to face discrimination at the local level.

What arguments were used by opponents of immigration?

The anti-immigration movement that emerged at the end of the nineteenth century drew upon the racist and intolerant ideas advocated by the Know-Nothings half a century earlier. Other groups also protested immigration. Labor union organizers, for example, feared that immigrants' willingness to work for low wages would hurt their struggle to increase



This cartoon is from 1882, the year that Congress passed the Chinese Exclusion Act.

wages and improve working conditions. In addition, political reformers believed that immigrants could be easily manipulated to support corrupt, big-city politicians. Still others argued that newcomers did not share the same political ideals as native-born citizens and threatened the United States because they would not assimilate.

“The thing we have to fear most is the political danger of the infusion of so much alien blood into our social body that we shall lose the capacity and power of self-government, or... that we shall cease to have the same political aspirations and ideals and thus be incapable of consistent political progress.”

—Professor Richmond Mayo Smith, *Emigration and Immigration*, 1890

Hoping to restrict Eastern and Southern European immigration, anti-immigration forces sought to make literacy a requirement for entry to the United States. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) also grew in size—reaching three million members in the early part of the twentieth century. It expanded its scope from targeting

blacks to also terrorizing Catholics and Jews.

What were some of the security arguments used to limit immigration?

Others also feared the arrival of political agitators and anarchists from Europe, particularly those who protested for workers' rights. At a rally for an eight-hour workday at Haymarket Square in Chicago in 1886, an explosion and gunfire killed seven police officers and at least four workers. The violence was attributed to anarchists and socialists, leading to a backlash in the press against the movement. This event also furthered the idea that immigrants brought radical and dangerous ideas to the United States. Concerns about security once again affected attitudes about immigration.

“The United States will soon be the rendezvous of these human monsters.... [N]o alien Anarchists shall be permitted to land at any port in the United States.”

—House of Representatives
Judiciary Report, 1894

“[I]t is infinitely more safe to admit a hundred thousand immigrants who, though unable to read and write, seek among us only a home and opportunity to work, than to admit one of those unruly agitators and enemies of governmental control, who can not only read and write, but delights in arousing by inflammatory speech the illiterate and peacefully inclined to discontent and tumult.”

—President Grover Cleveland,
March 2, 1897

Concerns about security continued to gain momentum with the assassination of President William McKinley by the anarchist Leon Czolgosz in September 1901. Soon, Congress passed the Anarchist Exclusion Act. It prohibited the immigration of anarchists—the first exclusion of immigrants based on political



Leon Czolgosz in a 1901 portrait.

Public Domain. Photo from “The Manner of Man That Kills,” by L. Vernon Briggs.

beliefs. Yet Czolgosz was not an immigrant. He was a U.S. citizen who was born in the United States.

How did people respond to the mistreatment of immigrants?

As efforts to limit immigration increased, ethnic groups representing marginalized immigrant groups became even more active in politics. Some worked to stop Congress from restricting immigration. For example, on the West Coast, some Chinese ethnic groups argued against Chinese Exclusion.

“The Chinese Exclusion Law, as now enacted and enforced, is in violation of the letter and spirit of the treaty between this country and China, and also in opposition to the original intent of Congress on the subject. As long as this law remains on the statute books in its present shape... the Chinese question will continue to be a vexatious one in the United States, as well as a fruitful source of irritation between America and China.”

—Ng Poon Chew, Chinese-American
activist, in a pamphlet, 1906



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Polish immigrants in 1908 with signs demanding an end to unfair child labor practices that affected Poles and other groups of immigrants in the United States.

Other immigrant groups also spoke out against the mistreatment of immigrants. For example, Irish, Italian, and German ethnic groups formed the Immigration Protective League. It assisted with immigrant resettlement. Jewish groups also worked to protect civil and religious rights. They spoke out against restricting immigration from Europe, where anti-Semitism (hostility or discrimination directed at Jewish people) was on the rise. In addition to European and East Asian groups, black immigration activists—who also faced discrimination because of their race—also organized for better treatment.

“[My husband] told me that one of the things that they worked on was the treatment of blacks at Ellis Island. That he got a group together, and they wrote the governor of New York

at the time and...had them change the way they treated the blacks that came in.”

—Vera Clark Ifill, who came to the United States from Barbados in 1921, reflecting on the work of her husband,
Alan McDonnell Ifill

Foreign governments also protested the mistreatment of immigrants in the United States. After the San Francisco School Board chose to exclude Japanese children from schools in 1906, the Japanese government protested Japanese mistreatment. In what became known as the Gentlemen's Agreement of 1907, U.S. and Japanese diplomats came to an agreement over Japanese immigration. While the agreement struck down policies keeping students in segregated schools, it also banned the entry of Japanese laborers from Hawaii, Mexico, and Canada and persuaded Japan to restrict emigration.

Some U.S. government officials also took steps to avoid highly restrictive immigration policies. Presidents from Grover Cleveland in 1895 to Woodrow Wilson in 1915 repeatedly vetoed legislation that would have required a literacy test for immigrants. Since free public education was slow to advance in much of Southern and Eastern Europe, opponents of immigration expected literacy testing to slow the flow of these immigrants. Not until 1917—with the United States about to enter World War I against Germany and its allies—did Congress make literacy an entrance requirement for immigrants.

How did World War I affect immigration?

World War I (1914-1918) and U.S. security concerns affected immigration policy and attitudes towards immigrants. As President Wilson worked to maintain a policy of “strict neutrality” in the first years of the war, some recent German immigrants living in the United States felt some loyalty to their country of origin.

“There are citizens of the United States, I blush to admit, born under other flags but welcomed under our generous naturalization laws to the full freedom and opportunity of America, who have poured the poison of disloyalty into the very arteries of our national life.... Such creatures of passion, disloyalty, and anarchy must be crushed out.”

—President Wilson’s proposal to Congress,
1915

After the United States entered the war, Wilson hoped to keep the national differences that divided Europe from doing the same at home. The administration embarked on a program to encourage the “Americanization” of the immigrant population. Leaders launched a “War Americanization Plan,” which sponsored English language and citizenship classes all over the country.



A poster from World War I that called on immigrants to support the war effort. During the war, many people worried about immigrant loyalty. In Yiddish, the poster reads, “Food will win the war. You came here seeking freedom, now you must help to preserve it. Wheat is needed for the Allies. Waste nothing.”

Anti-German propaganda generated support for the war, but it also contributed to intolerance of German immigrants. For example, local governments prevented some orchestras from playing music by German composers. Fourteen states banned the teaching of the German language in public schools. Movements to eliminate German names on public buildings, parks, and streets often succeeded. People referred to sauerkraut as “liberty cabbage,” the hamburger as the “liberty sandwich,” dachshunds as “liberty pups,” and the German measles as “liberty measles.” Many German-Americans changed their names to avoid harassment. In the Midwest, a mob

Public Domain. Charles Edward Chambers. LC-DIG-ppmsca-05651.

lynched a German-American. A jury acquitted the perpetrators in twenty minutes, calling the event a “patriotic murder.” Popular songs captured the nationalist call for loyalty from immigrants.

**“If you don’t like your Uncle Sammy,
Then go back to your home o’er the
sea,
To the land from where you came,
Whatever be its name,
But don’t be ungrateful to me!
If you don’t like the stars in Old
Glory,
If you don’t like the Red, White and
Blue,
Then don’t act like the cur in the
story,
Don’t bite the hand that’s feeding
you!”**

—Lyrics from “Don’t Bite the Hand That’s
Feeding You,” a popular 1916 song

In Part I, you have explored how disputes over immigration have been a part of U.S. history dating back to the colonial era. You have seen how worries over economics and security fed these concerns. You have also seen how ideas about race, religion, and assimilation contributed to debates about who was a suitable U.S. citizen. As you continue your reading in the coming days, notice how economics, security, race, ethnicity, religion, and assimilation resurface in policy debates about immigration. Ask yourself how they remain similar and how they differ during other periods of U.S. history.